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*The RESOURCES of POPULAR EDUCATION in ENGLAND and WALES :
PRESENT and FUTURE. By HORACE MANN, Esq.*

[Read before the Statistical Society, 4th March, 1862.]

It is not my purpose, in this paper, to discuss the "revised code," but to present facts which must needs be of considerable service to all who may wish to consider comprehensively the larger questions which the discussion of that measure cannot fail to raise. For it is now, I think, evident that the prevailing controversy cannot be confined to the operation of the code itself; but must range over the whole subject of popular education. A crisis has clearly been reached in the educational policy of the country; and the code is a consequence of this crisis rather than the occasion of it. The same may be said of the Report of the recent Education Commission; which rather gives sanction and prominence to facts and opinions already formed and ascertained than makes any new discoveries or suggestions. The vastness, and the increasing magnitude, of the drain upon the public purse, have forced upon us a review of our entire position; and the object of this paper will be to present, in a condensed form, the most important statistics relating to the present position and future policy of the country with respect to the provision for popular education.

With this view I propose to consider chiefly the following points: designedly omitting others, of perhaps equal interest, which cannot be comprised within the limits of a paper suitable for this Society.

I. *Our existing provision*; more especially its relation to that of former periods and of other countries—its nature and value—its cost—and the sources from which it is supplied.

II. *Our future provision*; with especial reference to possible changes and additional resources.

I.

According to the census of education in 1851, there were at that time 2,144,378 children in the *day* schools of *England and Wales*. When, in the Report on that census, it was stated as an inevitable inference from this fact that "very few children are *completely* un-instructed," and that "nearly all, at some time or other of their childhood, see the inside of a schoolroom, although some do little more," this result appeared so incredible to one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools that he at once pronounced the census itself to be inaccurate, and the numbers mentioned a gross exaggeration. We

now learn from the Report of the Education Commissioners that, according to the best information they could obtain, the number of day scholars in 1858 in England and Wales was 2,535,462. This latter number is obtained, to some extent, by estimates liable to error; but there does not seem to be room for any very important miscalculation. One mistake, however, which requires correction, has been acknowledged by the Commissioners with respect to the Congregational Schools, from some of which no returns were received. It seems best, therefore, to substitute in this case the figures of the census of 1851; the effect of which will be to cause an addition of 17,023 to the above number—making the total 2,552,485. The proportion, therefore, of scholars to population, which was 1 in 8·36 according to the census of 1851, had improved to 1 in 7·65, according to the more recent inquiry; and the Commissioners infer that “the name of almost every child is, at some time or other, on the “books of some school, at which it attends with more or less “regularity.”

With our numerical standard, therefore, we may be very well satisfied. Both as to rate of progress and actual attainment the figures are eminently encouraging. The increasing proportions since 1818 have been from—

1 in 17·25 in 1818;
 1 „ 11·27 „ 1832;
 1 „ 8·36 „ 1851; and
 1 „ 7·65 „ 1858.

And, compared with other principal European countries, our proportion of 1 in 7·65 is exceeded only by that of Prussia, under a compulsory system, where it is 1 in 6·27. The proportion in France is 1 in 9·0, and that in Holland 1 in 8·11. Unless, therefore, a wider range of age has been taken in this country than in the others, the comparison is by no means to our discredit.

Of the 2,552,000 *day scholars*, about 1,692,000 were (in 1858) in *public*, and 860,000 in *private* schools. Probably about 50,000 of the former and 500,000 of the latter may have belonged to the middle and upper classes of society; leaving in round numbers 2,000,000 belonging to the rest of the community, viz. :—

In public schools	1,640,000
„ private „	360,000*
	<hr/>
	2,000,000
	<hr/>

* The Royal Commissioners (from observations made in the selected districts), compute the number of children “in private schools of the class for which annual

The whole of my further remarks will apply exclusively to this residue, which constitutes the section of society referred to when the phrase "*popular education*" is employed.

In the *public popular day schools*, about 30 per cent. of the children remain beyond *ten* years of age; about 20 per cent. beyond 11 years; and about 11 per cent. beyond 12 years. In the private popular day schools the percentage is probably somewhat higher, as they are frequented by the children of the more thriving artisans, &c. Still, nearly 70 per cent. of the entire number of children of the working class leave school before attaining the age of 10.

The period during which a child is under tuition is about four years, on the average; some, of course, spending a longer time than this in school, and some a shorter. The attendance, however, during the period over which the tuition extends, is not regular; and it seems that the irregularity is increasing. In the specimen districts of the Education Commissioners it was found that the number of children who attended 176 days per annum was only 47·4 per cent. in 1853, and had since then constantly diminished till it was only 39·4 per cent. in 1857.

If we endeavour to discriminate between different kinds of public elementary day schools, we find that out of about 24,000 there are 10,435 containing 1,154,050 scholars, which are or have been assisted by the Government grant, and are liable to inspection. To these must be added 999 schools, with 47,748 scholars, which are almost entirely supported by taxation. The number of schools at present receiving annual grants is, however, less than this, viz., 6,897, containing 917,225 children. The result is, that there are 16,107 schools with 675,185 scholars, which do not at present receive aid; though some of them are liable to inspection on account of past assistance.

We should also find that most of the schools, both inspected and uninspected, are connected with some religious communion; viz., in the following proportions:—

"grants are intended," at two-thirds of the whole, viz., 573,536., I have ventured to prefer an estimate based upon facts ascertained at the Census of 1851, which appears more consistent with the numbers and school-time of the children of the middle and upper classes, even assuming these classes to constitute no more than a fifth of the population.

Religious Communion, &c.	Inspected Schools.	Uninspected Schools.	Total.	
			Schools.	Scholars.
Established Church	5,583	13,966	19,549	1,187,086
Roman Catholics	253	490	743	85,866
Wesleyans	263	182	445	59,873
Congregationalists*	—	453	453	50,186
Baptists	—	144	144	9,388
Miscellaneous	—	247	247	22,931
British†	687	444	1,131	151,005
	6,786	15,926	22,712	1,566,335

* The numbers given by the Royal Commissioners (388 schools and 33,163 scholars) are confessedly inaccurate. I have, therefore, adopted the figures of the census of 1851, as supplying a better, though still, in all probability, an inadequate account.

† Most of the British schools are connected with religious communions, but the instruction, though religious, is not sectarian.

About 43,000 scholars were found in ragged schools, orphan schools, Birkbeck schools, and factory schools.

Others belong almost exclusively to the State, viz. :—

Schools.	Schools.	Scholars.
Pauper schools	869	35,303
Prison „	47	2,683
Naval and military schools....	83	9,762
	999	47,748

Turning, now, to the question of *Cost*, we learn that (apart from the sums spent upon administration, inspection, and school-buildings), the amount requisite to maintain the 24,000 public popular day schools in their present state is about 2,000,000*l.*; the calculation being, that each child costs, in inspected schools, 30*s.* a-year, and in uninspected schools perhaps a third less. To this must be added, probably, about 350,000*l.*, on account of the popular private schools.

The sources from which the annual income necessary to defray this cost is obtained are chiefly three, viz. :—

1. Payments by the parents.
2. Private benevolence.
3. Public taxation.

The great mass of the provision is supplied by the combination of

all three; but a certain proportion of it is due to one or another exclusively. Thus, the self-supporting private schools contain (according to the preceding estimate), 360,000 scholars; and the public schools which are wholly supported by the State contain 47,748 scholars; leaving about 1,592,000 children, the cost of whose education is defrayed from some, or all, of the various sources in conjunction. Of the total cost of the entire number of public popular day schools, viz., 2,000,000*l.*, as above mentioned, 26 per cent. seems to be furnished by the parents; 46 per cent. by subscription, endowment, or other form of private assistance; and 28 per cent. by taxation.

The amount of the Parliamentary grant for the year 1859 was 836,920*l.*, the chief portion of which was divided between 32 training institutions and 6,897 day schools, with 917,255 scholars. Consequently, the number of public popular day schools which participated in the grant was less than the number which derived no benefit from it; the unassisted public day schools numbering 16,067. But the number of scholars in the aided schools was more by 245,862 than in the unaided schools.

It may be useful now to pass from these general statistics in order to advert to those which bear upon some of the questions which are likely to assume prominence in the wide review, which seems inevitable, of our educational policy.

1. Of these questions, obviously the most important is that of the practical results of the present system. Are these results such as prove that a fair equivalent is rendered for the expenditure incurred? The statistics upon this point contributed by the Educational Commissioners are, that only about 1 in 4 of the scholars in the best schools is successfully educated in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Mr. Norris, one of the Inspectors of Schools, puts the proportion of the successfully educated at 1 in 8 of those who attend; and other official reports mention, that in many cases the knowledge acquired is forgotten in a short time after removal from school. Perhaps these statements are not altogether of the nature of statistical facts; as their value is partly dependent on the impressions of the observers; but the results receive some corroboration from other facts of a more positive character. Thus, it appears that "out of 12,402 scholars in "317 evening schools in the ten specimen districts, no less than "10,706, or 83·37 per cent., had attended day schools for various "periods; yet almost all of them were learning to read, write, and "cypher."*—Again, the Civil Service Examinations supply some facts which bear upon this point. For example, the examination of letter carriers, under the Post Office, has never extended beyond the most

* "Report of the Education Commission," p. 42.

simple exercises in the elementary acquirements of reading, writing, and the first four rules of arithmetic; yet rejections were formerly numerous, and the Postmaster-General has recently reduced the test for these officers to the mere exercise of writing their own names and addresses, reading the directions of twenty letters, and adding a few figures together. As most of the persons who apply for these situations must have passed some years at school, it seems evident that if they are really unable to comply with the meagre demands of the abrogated test, and if they are fair representatives of their class, a very great deal of money must have been wasted upon their instruction, so far as secular knowledge is concerned. These statistics, therefore, appear to confirm, to some extent, the accuracy of the opinions founded on the personal observations of inspectors,—that whatever may be the permanent good effected by the daily moral training which the children undergo, the knowledge of the elementary and most essential subjects is either very imperfectly acquired at school or very rapidly and completely forgotten when attendance at school has ceased.—Other evidence on the point in question is to be found in the Registrar-General's Returns of the number of persons who sign the marriage register with marks. These returns throw some light on the state of elementary education ten or twelve years ago; and though not supplying an exact measure of the positive amount of ignorance, are very valuable as showing comparative results at different periods. The following table exhibits rather a cheering rate of progress,—the proportion of marks having declined from 40·8 per cent. in 1841, to 30·9 per cent. in 1860; though it may still, of course, be held that the positive extent of failure is too great considering the magnitude of the efforts made some ten or twelve years back.

Signatures in Marriage Registers, 1841-60.

Years ended 31st December.	To 100 Married, the Proportion who Signed the Marriage Register with Marks.		
	Males.	Females.	Mean.
1841	32·7	48·8	40·8
'42	32·0	47·9	40·0
'43	32·7	49·0	40·9
'44	32·4	49·2	40·8
'45	33·2	49·6	41·4
1846	32·6	48·2	40·4
'47	31·2	45·5	38·4
'48	31·2	45·4	38·3
'49	31·0	45·9	38·5
'50	31·1	46·2	38·7
1851	30·8	45·3	38·1
'52	30·5	44·6	37·6
'53	30·4	43·9	37·2
'54	30·0	42·7	36·4
'55	29·5	41·2	35·4
1856	28·8	40·2	34·5
'57	27·7	38·8	32·3
'58	27·0	37·6	32·3
'59	26·7	37·6	32·2
'60	25·2	36·2	30·9

2. Another highly important question relates to the distribution of the Government grant according to the necessities of the people. Is the assistance rendered by the public given to those by whom it is really required? It is said, for example, that the State's contributions afford aid, to a considerable extent, to localities which could and would do without it, or with less of it; and are withheld from the small poor parishes in which it is really required. In illustration, an account is given by the Royal Commissioners (from facts ascertained by the Rev. N. Stephenson), of 655 parishes, having each less than 600 population, in Herefordshire, Devonshire, and Somersetshire, from which it appears that the number of such parishes receiving aid from the Privy Council is—

In Herefordshire	5	out of 130
„ Devonshire	2	„ 245
„ Somersetshire	1	„ 280
	—	—
	8	655
	—	—

And, as a general result, it is stated that while the average of aided parishes is 1 in 2·97 of those containing more than 600 inhabitants, it is only 1 in 26·44 of those containing less than 600.

It must be borne in mind, however, in endeavouring to appreciate correctly the force of these facts, that, as is pointed out by the Royal Commissioners, the very smallness of these parishes must, of necessity, place them at a disadvantage; from which it seems to be possible that the fault may rest upon the parochial system rather than upon the plan with which it is, in these cases, incompatible.

3. A third point, of some interest if not of quite so much importance as the previous two, is whether the principle of proportioning the aid supplied from the public taxes to the amount raised by voluntary contributions secures an equitable distribution of the grant amongst the various religious communions. Such a principle, it is evident, will not bear universal application. The mere fact that a wealthy man is willing to give 1,000*l.* to build a schoolroom does not suffice to give him a claim upon the rest of the community for the remainder of the needful funds. An opulent Jew, for instance, could not thus be assisted in the establishment of schools to teach his faith to the children of Christian parents, even though attendance at the synagogue were not made compulsory. The operation of the principle, therefore, must clearly be, to some extent, limited; and accordingly the administrators of the present system have imposed such a limitation by exacting, as a condition of public aid, "that the religious denomination of the new school shall be suitable to the families relied upon for supplying scholars." The question, therefore, is—how the principle, thus restricted in its application, has worked; and the statistics upon this point show that the proportion of the Government grant obtained by the various religious communions in England and Wales was as follows, down to the end of the year 1860:—

	Amount Received.	Proportion per Cent. of the Entire Grant to Religious Bodies.
	£	Per Cent.
Established Church	3,070,432	78·6
Wesleyan Methodists	232,222	5·9
Congregationalists	—	—
Roman Catholics	166,332	4·3
Other communions.....	—	—
British schools	436,657	11·2
Total amount distributed amongst the religious communions	3,905,643	100·0

The Established Church, therefore, has obtained nearly 80 per cent. of the amount raised by taxation; while all other religious bodies (credit being given them for the amount awarded to British

schools), have obtained rather more than 20 per cent.; a result which might have been anticipated from the vastly superior wealth possessed by the members of the church. These proportions, however, by no means express the relative positions of the various communions with respect to the number of adherents; and the question may still remain, whether the assistance of the State should be given according to the wealth of a religious body or according to the numbers requiring instruction. I say this may be one of the questions raised by a general revision of the present system; and the following figures may help in the discussion of it.

Dividing the population into three classes,—(1) Those who attend the services of the Established Church; (2) Those who attend the services of other religious communions; and (3) The non-attendants—the proportions per cent., in 1851, of the population able to attend, were estimated as follows :*—

Established church	30·1 per cent.
Other communions	27·8 ,,
Non-attendants	42·1 ,,
	<hr/>
	100·
	<hr/>

This, however, refers to the whole population, rich and poor together. The proportions in the class for which popular day schools are designed would very likely be different; probably (as the strength of dissent lies principally in the poorer classes), showing a diminution in the percentage of attendants at the Established Church, and an increase in that of the attendants belonging to other communions. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the proportion of non-attendants given above refers to a particular Sunday—that many of this number attend occasionally, and some habitually, at the services of one or another of the religious communions,—and that probably the number of such occasional attendants is greater in the case of the Established Church than in that of the other communions. It will be obvious, however, that, notwithstanding this last-mentioned circumstance, the distribution of public money is not proportionate to the numerical position of the different bodies,—the Established Church obtaining 80 per cent. of the grant, and the other communions 20 per cent. If attention were confined to Wales, the difference

* I reproduce these figures without any hesitation, though I am aware that the data upon which they are founded have been subjected to cavil by some to whom the results are offensive. The objections referred to were entirely hypothetical; and the returns have received ample corroboration from subsequent investigations. It is only to be regretted that a similar inquiry, pursued by the same method, was not undertaken (as recommended by this Society) in connection with the Census of last year.

would probably appear still more remarkable; as there the services of the Church are attended by only 12 or 13 per cent. of the population, against 40 per cent. who attend other services; while the number of church schools is 878 (with 52,000 scholars), against 228 belonging to other communions (containing 22,000 scholars). I have not been able to ascertain the comparative amount of assistance given by the Privy Council; but there can scarcely be any doubt that the church schools have received the larger share.

It is to be noticed, however, that church schools, established under these circumstances, are evidently regarded by dissenting parents more as national than as denominational institutions, and are attended by their children for the sake of the secular instruction; their religious education being derived from the Sunday schools. As these can be established without the severe pecuniary outlay requisite for day schools, we find, as might be expected, that the number of attendants in them represents more accurately the respective numerical positions of the various churches; the Established Church throughout the country having 1,092,822 scholars in 1858, against 1,318,732 belonging to other bodies; and the numbers in Wales being about 42,576 belonging to the former, against 190,480 belonging to the latter.

II.

Turning, now, from this view of the existing provision for popular education to the question of the future supply, it will, I think, be most instructive to consider chiefly the nature and capacity of the sources from which that supply must be drawn. These, as already mentioned, are mainly three, viz. :—

1. The people themselves; both parents and children.
2. Benevolent persons, of the classes above them.
3. The public taxes.

What proportion each of these should in future contribute, will be, I imagine, the point of future controversy. I have placed them, in what I take to be the order of their responsibility; assuming—(1) That no claim for assistance, either from private or public benevolence, would arise if the persons directly interested were able themselves to provide the necessary funds, and (2) That no claim upon *public* charity would arise if the joint efforts of the other two classes were proved to be adequate. According to this view, the measure of the claim upon charity of *any* kind is the deficiency in the resources of the people themselves; and the measure of the claim upon *public* charity is the deficiency in the joint resources of the people and of private benevolence. This way of regarding the question will, at all events, serve to place such statistics as are to follow in a convenient shape for use, whatever theory of comparative

obligation may be held. It seems quite clear, however, that one of the problems demanding speedy solution will be the mode by which the contributions of the State can in future be lessened.

1. In the first place, then, we may ask,—to what extent may we expect that those for whose use the popular schools are to be provided will themselves supply the provision? If we estimate the total number of persons belonging to this class at four-fifths of the population, the number of children for whom accommodation should, according to the existing ratio, be furnished may be taken at 2,000,000. But it will, of course, be at once perceived that some of these are paupers and some criminals, for whom, there is no doubt, the State alone must provide. The number of children belonging to these classes (including out-door paupers), must be near 200,000; so that the residue would amount to 1,800,000, as to whom the question might be put to their parents, how far they are able to bear their own burden, and how far they are compelled, by poverty, to cast a portion of it upon others and upon the State.

As to a certain portion of them an answer is at once supplied by the fact that a very considerable number of the children of the labouring classes are educated in private schools, which receive no other support than the payments made by the children's relatives. The total number of scholars in private schools in 1851 was 721,396, and in 1858 it was estimated (on rather imperfect data), at 860,304. What portion of this latter number is to be found in schools for the classes under consideration is not given separately. If the estimate made in 1851 might be taken, it would be about 270,000. The Royal Commissioners, however, place the number as high as 573,436. This I believe to be considerably in excess of the reality, as it would leave an insufficient margin for the children of the upper and middle classes. A medium estimate (say 360,000) would, probably, represent more nearly the number. We shall be justified in assuming that at least the present proportion may also for the future be found in self-supporting schools; for it is a remarkable fact, that in spite of what the Royal Commissioners have described as the somewhat unfair competition of the schools assisted by Government, the relative number of private schools for the working classes has scarcely, if at all, diminished during the last ten years. I say this is a remarkable fact, for it shows how strong must be the laudable feeling in these classes against any form of dependence upon public or private bounty; and it is only made all the more remarkable by the circumstance that the instruction in these private schools is pronounced by the Royal Commissioners to be decidedly inferior to that which is given (at considerably less expense to the parents) in the assisted schools. In estimating, therefore, our resources for the future, we should not only take account of the ability and willingness

of a large portion of the people to sustain the whole cost of their education, but endeavour to see whether this source of revenue cannot be made much more productive. It will readily be admitted that if the working classes are able to get as good an education without assistance as with it, it will be better for all parties that they should do so; since (apart from the just relief to the other classes of society) the very habit itself of independent effort is a moral training far more valuable than many lessons. I will therefore mention two ways in which, it appears to me, that the number of efficient private self-supporting schools might be increased.

(i.) By raising their general character, and enabling parents to distinguish between the efficient and the inefficient. These ends might be gained by examination of the masters and inspection of the schools. I do not go so far as to say that no one should be allowed to teach without a licence (although this would probably be more consistent with the policy of encouraging voluntary effort than the plan of subsidies); but if persons were permitted to present themselves voluntarily for examination, and to offer their schools voluntarily for inspection, it is probable that the feeling of confidence which the possession of a Government or university sanction would create in the minds of parents would induce many more of them than at present do so to assume the whole burden of their children's education. The statistics of the Royal Commission show, that out of 3,594 teachers of private elementary schools in the ten specimen districts (of whom 3,071 were females), only 17, or less than 1 per cent., held certificates of competency from any public body. The plan now mentioned has the sanction of these Commissioners, who suggest that the Government examination for certificates should be thrown open to all persons of good character who might present themselves. If there could be added to this a machinery for the inspection of such private schools as their proprietors might choose to submit to the ordeal, and for an examination of the scholars, the means by which parents could discriminate between good and bad schools, would be much increased. The two universities, which are now acting so beneficially in this way with regard to the middle-class schools, would only be acting out the part of really national institutions by devoting some portion of their annual income of 500,000*l.* to the encouragement of education in the class most sorely in need of it.

(ii.) Another source, entirely unproductive hitherto, from which, I venture to think, a considerable number of purely self-supporting schools might be maintained, may be found in the numerous trade societies which have now taken firm root in the country, and have spread their branches over the whole surface of the land. Whatever may be the errors and faults of such combinations, it is useless to

expect that they will cease to exist, or even that they will not continue to grow; nor will it be denied that they have their compensating advantages. It would seem, therefore, to be a wise policy to attract as much as possible of the energies of this form of co-operation to objects of undoubted utility; and assuredly no enterprise could be found more beneficial in itself, and more accordant with the main purposes which these institutions, in their character of benefit societies, are designed to fulfil, than the foundation and support of schools for the children of members. At all events, in any attempt at a statistical account of the available means of popular education, a reference should not be omitted to the possible results of an appeal to a source so legitimate as this. It is to be hoped that more complete statistics than we now possess may, ere long, be produced, showing the extent and power of these societies. A first effort has already been made in the Report of the Committee appointed by the Social Science Association; from which we learn, as an illustration of the capabilities of some of these unions, that in 1859 the Society of Amalgamated Engineers consisted of more than 17,000 members in nearly 200 branches, and had an income of 50,000*l.*, with a balance at Christmas, 1858, of 30,000*l.* Another estimate of the power and willingness of the working classes to sustain, by combined effort, whatever policy they may believe to be for the benefit of their order, may be formed from the fact that the strike of the Amalgamated Engineers, in 1852, cost the men no less than 35,459*l.*, besides the loss of wages; while that of the Preston weavers, in 1853-4, is estimated by Mr. Henry Ashworth to have cost no less than 347,000*l.*, viz., 250,000*l.* in wages to the men thrown out of work, and 97,000*l.* in contributions by workmen of other districts towards their support. Nor can we omit to notice the remarkable experiment, or rather exhibition, of the power of combined exertion amongst working men shown in various instances of successful co-operative associations. The Rochdale Society of Pioneers has now a capital of 32,000*l.*, and its business amounts to 170,000*l.* annually; the flour mills produce yearly 200,000*l.* worth of flour; and the cotton mill, opened in 1860, cost 45,000*l.* And it is a very instructive fact, as bearing upon the point under consideration, that 2½ per cent. of the profits of one of these societies is devoted to a library and reading room for the members and their wives and families.

It is not probable, indeed, that the utmost efforts of the people, acting by themselves, will, for some time to come, obviate the necessity for very considerable aid from other classes of the community. It may, however, be reasonably expected that the proportion of their self-help to that of the help bestowed upon them will gradually increase. At present, it is found that the cost of assisted schools is

borne to the extent of 23 per cent. by the people, and 77 per cent. by other parties. It is not doubted that the former ratio may be augmented, though opinions differ as to the possible degree and rapidity of the increase. Sir J. Shuttleworth thinks, that "within a quarter of a century, at least 500,000*l.* per annum may be added to "the present income from school-pence alone." Mr. Tremeneere urges the opinion that, by the inducement of a system of prizes, accompanied by a withdrawal of the Government grant, the school-fees might be raised by at least 1*d.* per head per week,—equal to as much as 170,000*l.* per annum in the aggregate from the inspected schools. We may, perhaps, assume that the revised code owes its origin, in some degree, to the conviction that parents may be induced to pay higher fees if they see that the education given in exchange is more practically useful to their children. But, although there is a general opinion that more might be produced from this source than is at present received, it is very difficult to give any estimate of the probable addition. If Dr. Farr's suggestion, that facts as to the rate of wages throughout the country should be collected as part of the decennial census, had been adopted by the Government, we might have had the means of measuring much more accurately than is now possible, the ability of the working classes to procure for their families this common necessary of life. But the recent census was, unfortunately, restricted to a very narrow field of inquiry, and we can, therefore, only form a general opinion that there must be a great many artisans earning upwards of 30*s.* a-week, and a considerable number earning as much as 40*s.* a-week—an income equal to that of many a married clergyman or commercial clerk. We may also draw a general inference as to the resources of this class from the late Mr. Porter's well-known calculation, that 50,000,000*l.* yearly are spent by them in beer, spirits, and tobacco; though we should have to recollect that this amount is not distributed equally over the whole class. On the other hand, it is impossible to read the facts as to agricultural earnings which have been given by Mr. Purdy in a recent valuable paper without perceiving that the payment even of a penny per week for several children must be a matter of difficulty with some portion of the class. Still, on the whole, there is a concurrence of opinion in favour of the ability of the people, in the aggregate, to increase their part of the contribution; and a statistical view of our future resources would not be complete without a reference to one or two of the plans by which this result might be produced. For instance:—

(a.) There is the prize scheme, already mentioned, which I only allude to again for the purpose of stating that the number of Prize Scheme Associations formed in 1860, in various parts of England and Wales, was twenty-eight, and that the Royal Commissioners

express what seem to be reasonable doubts whether the influence of such schemes would be much felt by the mass of the scholars, whose parents can hardly be expected to keep them at school much longer than would otherwise be the case for the sake of the chance of their gaining a prize considerably less in value than the amount of wages they could earn by quitting school for the factory or the field. There appears to be no reason, however, why prizes and examinations should not be very useful in stimulating effort within the ordinary school-period, and inducing parents to increase their share of the expenses.

(b.) Then, there is the scheme suggested by Dr. Temple, against which the objection just referred to does not press with so much weight: that admissions to the better endowed schools should not, henceforth, be obtained by nomination of patrons, but be offered as the prizes for success in the inferior schools. The value of such prizes would be quite sufficient to tempt many parents of promising scholars to make extra exertions and sacrifices. The number of these presentations would, doubtless, be very considerable, and this way of disposing of them would not fail to diffuse a spirit of activity over all the elementary schools.

(c.) Similar in some respects to the prize schemes, and adapted to secure similar results with more certainty and fewer drawbacks, is the plan of open competition for the inferior Government appointments; that is, the bestowal of these more substantial prizes upon those who, possessing all other requisite qualifications for the work to be done, should give evidence of their superior intelligence and industry by their superior proficiency in reading, writing, spelling, and the simpler rules of arithmetic. The vacancies occurring annually in situations of this nature number at least 500; and although, of course, such prizes could not be bestowed upon school-boys, such a conspicuous example of the practical value of education could not fail both to induce parents to appreciate more highly the day school and to impel their children to preserve the knowledge obtained in the day school by attending evening schools. This subject is not altogether unnoticed by the Royal Commissioners; but they seem to have imperfectly comprehended both the main object of the plan and the description of prizes for which members of the working classes would be invited to compete. My own opinions upon the subject have, however, been so often uttered, that I should not, even if this were the proper place, repeat them here. I will only express a fear that we shall be rejecting a very powerful means of promoting education, without detriment to the Civil Service, if, adopting the advice of the Royal Commissioners, we are to discourage the people from regarding it (as it is certainly regarded by other classes of society) as a help towards success in life as well as

“a source of morality, enjoyment, and comfort.” The following figures represent a number of situations, most of which might be filled by means of competitive examination (confined to reading, writing, spelling and the first four rules of arithmetic) of persons educated in popular elementary day and evening schools, whenever there might be two or more applicants otherwise well qualified for the duties.

Out-door officers in the Customs	3,000
Letter carriers in the Post Office	3,022
Rural messengers in „	5,186
Messengers, porters, &c. in all departments	1,500
	<hr/>
	11,708
	<hr/>

The apprentices in the dockyards, and the boys engaged in the steam factories under the Admiralty (about 1,000 in number together) are already selected by open competition, with the best results. (See Mr. Cumin's report.) A similar measure with respect to the London letter carriers was sanctioned by the Duke of Argyll, when Postmaster-General, in July, 1860; but his Grace retired from that office before the plan was brought into action, and it was not adopted by his successor.

(*d.*) But probably the most effective method by which the contributions of the people themselves might be increased is one which has hitherto been surprisingly neglected, viz., the establishment of evening schools, or classes, or simply reading-rooms. It has been common to lament over the fact of the early withdrawal of children from school as a great hindrance to their useful instruction; and no doubt can exist that in multitudes of cases the effect has been that they have so completely forgotten what they had learnt as to render most of the expenditure incurred for them pure waste. Fewer than 20 per cent. remain at school after 11 years of age, and not more than 11 per cent. after 12. But is the regret so commonly expressed on this account altogether reasonable? Surely, there is something so natural and inevitable in this tendency to early labour, that instead of lamenting the existence of this state of things as the cause of our ill-success, we ought probably to be led to suspect that our educational machinery is ill-adapted to the circumstances of our condition. At all events, in one respect,—viz., that which we are considering, the resources of the people themselves—it is clear that a gain instead of a loss ought to be the consequence of a child's employment; since the ability to contribute would, of course, be increased by the amount of the wages received. All that would be requisite from other parties would be that they should adapt their efforts to the changed circumstances, and give in the evening the

instruction which cannot be imparted in the day time. The whole number of evening schools is no more than 2,036, containing 80,966 scholars; figures which may be said to represent something like utter destitution. There seems, however, no adequate reason why the country should not be almost covered with evening schools, without any addition to the demands upon benevolence or taxation. No elaborate system of tuition is necessary. The object being to preserve whatever results the day school teaching may have furnished, the slightest connecting link would suffice. Even mere news-rooms might be enough to keep up the power and practice of reading, which is the key to all other necessary knowledge. But more might be taught if there were a demand for more; and the present day school teachers might be available for such tuition without detriment to their other duties, if their period for day time instruction were shortened. Mr. Chadwick has at least brought sufficient evidence in support of his position that in this, as in other respects, the half is more than the whole, to entitle his facts and arguments to careful consideration. At present nearly all day schools are open at two separate periods of the day—morning and afternoon; and, indeed, the conditions upon which grants are given almost necessitate the practice in all assisted schools.

These are a few of the ways by which “the independent poor,” as they are called by the Royal Commissioners, might probably be incited to a greater amount of profitable sacrifices for their children and themselves. There are, doubtless, other influences equally powerful which might be employed to the same end. On the other hand, there are some that would act in a contrary direction; and it may be worth consideration whether the scheme, favoured by the Royal Commissioners, of extending the State’s assistance to *all* scholars in unassisted schools (both public and private) would not have this effect, by reducing the school-fees from *4d.*, *6d.*, or *8d.* a-week, which is now paid in many private schools, to little more than *2d.* a-week, which seems to be about the average in inspected schools. A similar effect, though less in degree, might be the result with regard to unassisted public schools when thus brought under the uniform system, since some of them at present extract more in the shape of school fees than do the inspected schools.

2. Passing now to an estimate of the aid which, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the people themselves, must for some time, be rendered by other portions of the community, and of the amount which the resources of private benevolence may be expected to yield—we must by no means lose sight of the important assistance which ought to be rendered by the benevolence of former times, existing now in the shape of endowments. The aggregate value of educa-

tional charities has not yet been accurately ascertained; but the estimate of the Charitable Trusts Commission reaches to 375,000*l.* per annum. There can be no doubt that the original object of nearly all these endowments was the education of the poorer classes, and that in very many cases the funds are now misapplied for the benefit of a higher class who could well afford to pay for its instruction. A good deal, also, is lost by wasteful administration, and some is diverted altogether from its proper object. In two ways, therefore, this fund might be made more productive than at present, viz., (1) By securing the whole amount for strictly educational purposes; and (2) By restoring to their proper objects those charities which, though applied to promote education, have been misappropriated to a wrong class of the community. But besides what has been left specifically for education, there is also a further amount of upwards of 200,000*l.* per annum left generally "for the poor;"* a considerable part of which might, as the Royal Commissioners recommend, be most usefully employed, without undue violence to the founders' intentions, in extending to this class the advantages of a better education.

It must be obvious that, even as far as we have gone in this investigation, the result has been to show that a very large revenue is producible from the sources already mentioned, viz., (1) From the people alone, devoted to private schools; (2) From the same source, but raised by co-operation and applied to public schools connected with the various trades; (3) From the same source, in the form of increased payments for the instruction given in other public day schools and in evening schools; and (4) From private benevolence, in the shape of endowments. But there still remains, before we can state the amount which may be needed from Government, the productive mine of the private benevolence of the current generation. The present annual amount contributed from this source (apart from the amount raised for the erection, &c., of new buildings) must certainly exceed 800,000*l.*, and is, probably, considerably in excess of this sum. Some of this, but more especially of the sum expended in the building of school premises, has doubtless been the result of the stimulus applied by the Government grants. It is not, however, quite correct to say, as Sir James Shuttleworth does, that the whole amount "has been called forth" by these grants. The amount thus called forth is neither more nor less than the amount which would not otherwise have been forthcoming; and this can only be matter of conjecture. In many cases the grant may have tempted persons to subscribe who would else have refrained; but there can be no doubt that in other cases it has been welcomed as a relief from a burden which would otherwise have been borne by the landowner

* See Mr. Cumin's "Report to the Education Commissioners."

or the locality. It is noticeable with regard to the expense of training colleges, that the income from subscriptions has steadily declined in proportion as that from the Government grant has increased, the ratio being*—

	Government Grants.	Students' Payments.	Subscriptions.
1854	36·5	18·6	44·9
'56	46·7	11·5	41·8
'57	55·2	8·1	36·7
'58	64·3	5·0	30·7

And we now learn, that at present the Government is paying no less than 90 per cent. of the entire cost of these institutions.†

There may be reasons for this which do not apply to elementary schools, but I venture to think that, as there are countervailing inducements, both in the existence and in the absence of the Government grants, we may safely calculate on the present amount of subscriptions being maintained whatever policy the Government may think proper to adopt.

3. Lastly, to provide for whatever deficiency may exist after the exhaustion of the means already mentioned, there is the resource of public taxation. The value of this resource it would of course be useless to pretend to estimate, as it is practically boundless, or only limitable by the willingness of the taxpayers. Some measure of that willingness may perhaps be inferred from the amount already raised, viz., 6,200,000*l.* since 1839; the current annual amount having now reached 800,000*l.* On the other hand, however, the very existence of the revised code is probably an indication of some uneasiness under this yearly burden; and it would be rash to assume that the Government grants could be so swollen as to flow into all the popular day schools which at present do without them. The total expenditure which such an extension would require from the State, has been variously computed at 750,000*l.* a-year, which Sir J. K. Shuttleworth thinks would, in a few years, be sufficient; at 2,100,000*l.*, which is the Royal Commissioners' estimate; between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.*, which was the calculation of Mr. Disraeli when Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1858; and at 5,000,000*l.* a-year which Dr. Temple considers would be ultimately reached.‡ If we

* See Mr. Cowie's "Report" for 1858, quoted by Mr. Tremenhare.

† Speech of Mr. Lowe, M.P., 13th February, 1862.

‡ Sir J. Shuttleworth proposes to reduce year by year the Parliamentary grant till it reaches three-fourths of its present ratio to the whole amount raised; the effect being that 750,000*l.* would, at the end of fifteen years, be adequate for the

take 30s. as the average yearly cost of each child's yearly education under the Privy Council system, the addition of about 1,000,000 children who are now instructed in schools (both public and private) which do not receive aid from Government, would cause an addition of about 1,500,000*l.* to the present grant, supposing that the existing conditions on which such aid is afforded, could be maintained and complied with. As, however, most of the unassisted public schools are in poor localities, and are on that account, or from other circumstances unable to satisfy these conditions, it seems to follow that, if they are to be elevated by Government assistance to the level of the inspected schools, the proportion of that assistance must be greater than is now afforded to schools more favourably situated and more liberally supported. For some years, too, there would be the extra expense of new school buildings; and there would also, of course, be a constant addition to the cost of inspection and administration. Supposing the revised code to be in force, its first effect would doubtless be to lessen the proportion of the State's contribution; but whether it would cause any permanent reduction, is a question which could only be determined by experience. On the other hand, such a complete extinction of private schools as is thus contemplated is hardly to be expected, whatever might be the severity of the competition to which the Government assistance to their rivals would expose them. A certain, and not inconsiderable, number of the working classes will always retain that independent spirit which impels them to decline whatever is offered in the shape of charity.

As I have already said, there have lately been indications that the prospect of so large a demand upon the national revenue, would be viewed with some apprehension; and even that a diminution of the present proportions of the Parliamentary grant would not be unwelcome if it could be effected without detriment to its main object. My chief design, therefore, in presenting the preceding figures to the Society, has been to supply the most important facts and estimates which may enable impartial observers to judge how far any increased demands may be necessary, or how far existing demands may be reduced. It is not, I assume, a matter of controversy, but a principle generally admitted, that the aid given by one part of the community towards the education of the other part, is not given because the relation of charity and dependence thus

support of the system extended to all the schools in the country. In the interim, he thinks that the grant might reach 1,000,000*l.* or 1,200,000*l.*, but not exceed the latter sum. Dr. Temple, on the other hand, founds his estimate on the supposition that the conditions of Government aid would be gradually and greatly relaxed, and that the funds now raised from other sources, would (as in the case of the Training Colleges) diminish as the Government aid increased.

produced is in itself desirable, but because it is supposed that the great blessing of education would not otherwise, or not so speedily, or not so effectually, be obtained. It must, therefore, be of the utmost consequence in reviewing (as I take it they must be reviewed) our whole position and policy, to form some tolerably correct notion of the resources which exist in the people themselves, and in other quarters independently of the State. In presenting the preceding facts upon this point, I make no pretence of giving any novel information; the greater part of the figures has been obtained from the recent "Report of the Education Commission;" the Statistical Appendix to which Report is an extremely valuable summary of the latest details. My only object has been to give prominence to facts which though known to some, may to many be unknown or unfamiliar, at a time when they are likely to be specially important; and it now only remains for me to hope that this attempt to assist the ensuing discussions may not be altogether unserviceable for that purpose.

APPENDIX.

Parliamentary Grants, 1839-61.

	£		£
1839	30,000	1851	150,000
'40	30,000	'52	160,000
'41	40,000	'53	260,000
'42	40,000	'54	263,000
'43	50,000	'55	396,921
'44	40,000	'56	451,213
1845	75,000	1857	541,233
'46	100,000	'58	663,435
'47	100,000	'59	836,920
'48	125,000	'60	798,167
'49	125,000	'61	803,794
'50	125,000		
			<u>£6,204,683</u>

Income of Educational Societies.

The amount expended in the year 1859 by the eight principal Central Societies for Promoting Popular Education, was 49,741*l.* The sums raised by these societies since their foundation, must have reached at least 1,500,000*l.* There are, besides, various local societies and boards, the income of which is not readily ascertainable. In 1857, twenty-three diocesan boards received between 13,000*l.* and 14,000*l.*

Proportion of Income from School Fees.

	In the £.
	s. d.
<i>In Church of England schools</i> , assisted	5 10
" " unassisted	4 9
<i>In British schools</i>	8 1
" " unassisted	9 11
<i>In denominational schools</i> assisted	9 3
" " " unassisted	12 2